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ABSTRACT

The principal results of the 1980 United States Census regarding Cuban Americans are summarized and analyzed in this report. The presentation is divided into the following sections: (1) residence and geographic distribution; (2) age and sex composition; (3) fertility; (4) family structure and marital status; (5) educational characteristics; (6) labor force participation and employment; (7) class of worker, industry and occupation; and (8) income. Major findings of this data set, which is said to be unprecedented in its comprehensiveness and detail, are the following: the Cuban population surpasses the total United States population, as well as every other major Hispanic group, in the proportion that resides in metropolitan (mostly suburban) areas. In comparison with the other Hispanic populations, as well as with the total United States population, the Cubans are not only the oldest group (median age: 37.7 years), but also the group with the highest proportion of females. The Cuban rate of reproduction is relatively low, especially in comparison with other Spanish-origin groups. Cubans have the lowest proportion of families with children, but also a relatively low proportion of never-married persons. The number of school years completed by the Cuban-origin population was 12.2, slightly below the corresponding figures for other groups (except Mexicans and Puerto Ricans). The proportion of all Cubans over 16 in the labor force is higher than the corresponding figure for all other groups. Cubans are least likely to be employed in the public sector, and exhibit a higher proportion of self-employed persons in comparison with other Hispanic groups. The cuban median family income is closer to the figure for all families in the United States than that of other Hispanic groups. (KH)

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THE CUBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES:

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U.S. Census of Population

Lisandro Perez

Dialogue #40

September 1984

Occasional Papers Series
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The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population

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THE CUBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Abstract

The 1980 U.S. Census of Population represents a significant benchmark in the study of the Cuban population residing in this country. Improvements in the coverage and measurement of that population have resulted in a data set unprecedented in its comprehensiveness and detail. The principal results with respect to U.S. Cubans are summarized here. The presentation is divided into the following sections: 1) residence and geographic distribution; 2) age and sex composition; 3) fertility; 4) family structure and marital status; 5) educational characteristics; 6) labor force participation and employment; 7) class of worker, industry, and occupation; and 8) income. Comparisons are made between the Cubans and other Hispanic groups and the total U.S. population. Some of the major findings concern the uniqueness of the age and sex composition of the Cubans, the presence of the three-generation family, and the apparent links between family structure and economic adjustment.

THE CUBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population

The 1980 U.S. Census of Population produced a remarkable data set on the Cuban population residing in the United States. Prior to the taking of that census, all data on the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Cubans were derived from surveys. This is true even of the results obtained from the previous decennial census, since the various items used in 1970 to identify the Hispanic populations (i.e., questions on nativity, use of the Spanish language, and Spanish surname) were placed on the "long" questionnaires sent only to five- and fifteen-percent samples of the U.S. population. This resulted in the underenumeration of U.S. Hispanics, including the Cubans.[1] Another widely-used source of information on the Cuban population of the United States, the Current Population Survey, is also based on data from a sample. For more than a decade, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has been publishing every year a report which exclusively presents the annual C.P.S. data on the Spanish-origin population.[2]

The uniqueness of the data set created by the 1980 U.S. Census rests on its greater coverage of the Cuban population and the comprehensivenss of the available results, especially in terms of geographic detail and range of variables. The key to the improved coverage was the placement of the item on "Spanish-origin" in the "short" questionnaire sent to all households in the United States. The question appeared in the following form:

Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent?

No (not Spanish/Hispanic)

Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano

Yes, Puerto Rican

Yes, Cuban

Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic[3]

Unlike the other items, such as language, surname, and nativity, that had been used in 1970 to identify the Hispanic population, the question above calls for subjective self-identification which may be based, as the Bureau of the Census notes, "on ancestry, nationality group, lineage, or country in which the person or person's parents were born before their arrival in the United States."[4]

The placing of such an item on the universal questionnaire not only improved the coverage of the Spanish-origin population, but also resulted in the availability of a broad array of cross-tabulations with other items in the census forms, as well as in the presentation of figures on specific Hispanic populations residing in fairly small geographic units.

Consequently, an unprecedented data set was created for the population that indicated on the census form that they are of "Cuban origin or descent." It is the population thus identified, a total of 803,226 persons, that is the focus of the analysis presented here.[5] The presentation is divided into the following parts: 1) residence and geographic distribution; 2) age and sex composition; 3) fertility; 4) family structure and marital status; 5) educational characteristics; 6) labor force participation and employment; 7) class of worker, industry, and occupation; and 8) income. It can be readily appreciated that hte

scope is fairly broad, so it is possible that the presentation can be faulted for superficiality. The purpose here, however, is to present, in a comprehensive manner, the principal results of the 1980 U.S. Census with respect to the population of "Cuban-origin" residing in the United States. In other words, the aim is to do little more than answer the question: What does the 1980 Census tell us about the Cuban population of the United States? It would be impossible to present here in detail all possible analyses that can be conducted with this unprecedented data set. It is also impossible to include here the numerous tables and graphs from which the conclusions were drawn. Consequently, the presentation of the data and statistics has been kept to a minimum in favor of a parsimonious narrative that summarizes the major findings. At the end of the text, the reader can find four tables that, for reference purposes, contain some of the basic and most significant figures.

In order to interpret the results, comparisons are made in all sections between the Cubans and each of the other Spanish-origin populations (Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish), as well as with the total U.S. population.[6]

Residence and Geographic Distribution

U.S. Cubans are urbanites. The Cuban population surpasses the total U.S. population, as well as every other major Hispanic group, in the proportion that resides in urban areas. Within metropolitan areas, Cubans are more likely, in comparison with the other populations, to reside outside the major incorporated area (that is, to reside in what can be roughly equated to suburban areas).

With respect to geographic distribution, the Cubans exhibit a high degree of concentration in a few communities. The Miami-Ft. Lauderdale area (Dade and Broward counties) account for slightly more than 52 percent of the entire Cuban-origin population of the United States. That community, together with the Greater New York and Los Angeles areas, contain more than three-fourths of that population.

What is most significant about this pattern of geographic distribution is that, in comparison to the situation revealed by the 1970 census, it represents a trend towards an accelerated concentration in Florida.[7] This is in contrast to the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations, which from 1970 to 1980 exhibited a tendency to disperse from their traditional areas of concentration within the U.S. Numerically and proportionately, Florida, including the Miami area, increased its Cuban population at the expense of all other geographic units in the country. A state-by-state analysis, in fact, shows that the proportion of all Cubans declined everywhere except in Florida, where it greatly increased.

This tendency towards greater concentration in Florida was noted as early as 1972 by Prohías and Casal when they cited evidence that despite the initial dispersion brought about by the Cuban Refugee Resettlement Program there was increasing evidence of a "trickle-back" phenomenon to Florida.[8] The 1980 data shows, in fact, that many of those communities that received large numbers of resettled Cubans during the 1960's are precisely the communities that have been losing a great number of Cubans to Florida during the past decade.

Age and Sex Composition

In comparison with the other Hispanic populations, as well as with the total U.S. population, the Cubans are not only the oldest group, but also the one with the highest proportion of females. The median age is 37.7 years (compared to 30.0 for the total U.S.) and the sex ratio for the Cuban population (number of males per hundred females) is only 90.8 (compared to 94.5 for the total U.S. and 103.4 for the Mexican population). Although a low sex ratio is typical of an older population, in the case of the Cubans it is also the result of the restrictions imposed by the Cuban government on the emigration of men eligible for military conscription, restrictions that had a special impact on the age and sex characteristics of the population that arrived between 1965 and 1973 through the airlift. Consequently, the 1980 census shows that among Cubans there is an abnormally large deficit of men in the ages between 25 and 40.

What is perhaps most striking about the age composition of the Cuban population is the overrepresentation of middle-aged and elderly persons, a totally atypical characteristic for a population that is largely composed of immigrants that have arrived within the past two decades. The actual percentages speak more eloquently of the situation: whereas only 36.2 percent of the U.S. population was 40 and over years of age in 1980, the corresponding percentage among Cubans was 47.2.

It is interesting that the 1980 census shows that among Cubans there is a slight overrepresentation, in comparison with the total U.S. population, of persons 15 to 19 years of age. This is the cohort born between 1960 and 1966, a span of years during which the birth rate was high in Cuba.[9]

Of the five populations included in the analysis, the Cubans have the lowest proportion of persons under 15 years of age, another factor contributing to the high median age. In the following section we can see the reason for this relatively small number of children.

Fertility

The rate of reproduction of the Cuban population of the United States is relatively low. The figures on this are derived from an item in the census form that asked all female respondents to indicate the number of children they have ever had (excluding stillbirths, stepchildren, or adopted children). In every maternal age category, the number of children ever born to Cuban women is extraordinarily low in comparison with all other Spanish-origin groups. Furthermore, the Cuban ratios are not only lower than those of the total U.S. population, but are also below the figures for the total white metropolitan population of the United States. This very low level of fertility is of no small consequence for the demographics of the U.S. Cuban population. Possible explanations must await further study, but it is not an entirely surprising phenomenon, given the following facts: 1) as we shall see in a forthcoming section, Cuban women in the U.S. have very high rates of labor force participation; 2) in the years preceding the revolution, Cuba had one of the lowest birth rates in Latin America; and 3) at present, Cuba's reproduction rate is among the lowest in the entire developing world.[10]

Family Structure and Marital Status

The low fertility and the high median age are demographic factors that exert a considerable influence on the family-related characteristics

of the U.S. Cuban population. In comparison with the other populations under analysis, the Cubans have the lowest proportion of families with children. The numerical importance of the elderly is apparent in the high proportion of persons who indicated in the census form that they were "other relatives" (other than spouse or child) of the head of the household. In fact, the Cubans, in comparison with the other populations, have by far the highest proportion of persons 65 years of age and above who identified themselves as "other relatives" (the percentage is 30.7 among Cubans and only 8.9 in the total U.S. population). These figures lend support to the argument that the high proportion of elderly persons has led to the relatively widespread existence among U.S. Cubans of the three-generation family. This notion is further supported by other data from the 1980 census which show, for example, that in comparison with the other Hispanic groups and with the total U.S. population, elderly persons of Cuban origin are least likely to establish households on their own or to be inmates of institutions (including nursing homes).

In terms of marital status, the older age composition of the Cubans results in a relatively low proportion of never-married persons. Cuban men are more likely than their counterparts in the other populations to be married. But the most significant single fact about the marital status of the Cubans is that, in comparison with the other Hispanic groups and even with the total U.S. population, they have the highest proportion of women in the divorced category. This may reflect not only a high divorce rate, but also the particular problems divorced Cuban women may face if they wish to remarry. Generally, it is easier for men to remarry than for women to do so (and indeed, Cuban men do not have a

relatively high proportion that are divorced). But it should be remembered that Cuban women, despite low fertility, face a special problem if they wish to remarry within the group: between the ages of 25 and 40 the sex ratio among the Cubans, as has been noted, is abnormally low, falling below 80 in the age group 30 to 40 years of age.

It is interesting that in the case of the Cuban population the high proportion of divorced females does not translate itself into the family characteristics usually associated with a high divorce rate. For example, the 1980 Census shows that, in comparison with the other Hispanic groups and with the total U.S. population, the Cuban-origin population has: 1) the highest proportion of children under 18 living with both parents; 2) a relatively low percentage of families headed by females with no husband present; and 3) the lowest incidence of mother-child subfamilies (i.e., mother and child residing within a larger family). The only explanation consistent with these facts (and one that would have to be verified with further research) is that the divorced Cuban woman returns to her parents' household, but because of the low fertility she is not likely to be accompanied by children. It could also be said that the presence of children may inhibit the incidence of divorce among Cubans, but because of the low fertility the divorce rate could still be fairly high.

Educational Characteristics

Median number of school years completed by the Cuban-origin population was 12.2 in 1980, slightly below the corresponding figures for the "other Spanish" population (12.3) and the total U.S. population (12.5) It was above, however, the same statistic for the Mexicans and

Puerto Ricans. If one views the percent of all Cubans 25 years of age and over that have completed four or more years of college, one finds that the figure is equal to the same statistic for the total U.S. population (16.2) and considerably above the other Hispanic groups. At the same time, however, the percent of all adult Cubans with eight years or less of schooling was comparable to the corresponding percentages for the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations and considerably above the figures for the "other Spanish" and total U.S. populations. In contrast to the other populations, therefore, the Cubans tend to exhibit a certain polarization in their educational characteristics, with relatively high proportions at each end of the range of educational attainment. This phenomenon is not surprising. On the one hand, the traditional socioeconomic selectivity of the migration from socialist Cuba, combined with the high proportion of young Cubans who have attended and are attending universities in this country, has produced a fairly high proportion of college graduates. On the other hand, a population with a high proportion of elderly persons (especially if they are migrants from a developing country) can be expected to have many persons who did not attend school beyond the elementary grades.

One interesting phenomenon that emerges from the census data is that Cubans under 35 years of age have the highest rates of school enrollment of all the populations under consideration. This holds true for each age group from 3 to 34, but is especially true at the preschool level, with 42.4 percent of all Cuban-origin children 3 and 4 years of age enrolled. The next highest percentage of preschool attendance is that of the U.S. population with a much lower 32.8 percent. This characteristic is of great relevance in the next section, where female labor force participation is examined.

Labor Force Participation and Employment

The proportion of all Cubans 16 years of age and above in the labor force is higher than the corresponding figure for all the other groups, including the total U.S. population. The Cubans also have a lower rate of unemployment.

The same conclusions hold true if one examines only the female population. It is impressive that no matter what measure one uses (e.g., overall female labor force participation, percent of all women employed full-time all year, and the labor force participation of married women, married women with children, and female heads of households), Cuban women exhibit higher rates of participation. The gap between the Cuban percentages and those of the other populations is especially evident in the case of married women (including married women with children). The high incidence of female labor force participation is consistent with low fertility as well as the prevalence of two factors that facilitate child care for the working mother: the three-generation household and the relatively high proportion of children three and four years of age enrolled in school.

Given the tendency of Cuban women to be employed, it is not surprising that the Cubans led all the other groups in the percent of all families with two workers, a lead that increases if one looks exclusively at families with three or more workers.

Class of Worker, Industry, and Occupation

The most notable conclusion that can be drawn from the figures on the censal concept of "class of worker" is that in comparison with the other populations, the Cubans are least likely to be employed in the

public sector. They also exhibit a higher proportion of self-employed persons in comparison with the other Hispanic groups.

In terms of the sector of the economy, or industry, in which they are employed, Cubans exhibit relatively high percentages in the following categories: wholesale and retail trade, banking and credit agencies, insurance, real estate, and other finance. They have comparatively low percentages in the extractive industries, public administration, and the manufacture of durable goods. In the remaining categories their percentages are neither higher nor lower than the corresponding figures for the other populations. It is interesting that of all the populations under consideration, the Cubans are the only ones for which one finds that a majority of persons in manufacturing are employed in the manufacture of nondurable goods. In fact, the proportion of Cubans employed in the textile industry is noticeably larger than the same percentage for the other groups. This, of course, may well be a function of the different regions in which the various groups reside. In Dade County, Florida, where about half of the Cuban population resides, there is a predominance within the manufacturing sector of nondurable goods (especially textiles) over durable goods.[12]

Turning to occupational characteristics, in the non-clerical white collar occupations (executive, administrative, and managerial, professional and technical, and sales) Cubans exhibit higher proportions in comparison with the other Hispanic groups. However, the proportions of the total U.S. populations in those occupations exceed the corresponding percentages among Cubans, except in sales, the category where Cubans exhibit the highest proportion in comparison with the other groups, confirming the conclusions drawn earlier from the data on

industry. For the rest of the occupations, the Cuban figures are not very distinguishable from those of the other populations, except perhaps for the relatively low percentages in the service and extractive occupations.

The occupational distribution of the female population does not show a radically different picture than that of the total population. In comparison with Hispanic females, Cuban women show relatively high proportions in those non-clerical white-collar occupations (but not percentages that are higher than those of all U.S. women). The proportion of Cuban women in service occupations is by far the lowest of all groups, while they exhibit the highest proportion of operators and fabricators. This is consistent with the conclusion that light manufacturing, especially of nondurable goods such as textiles, is an important source of employment for Cubans. Apparently, working in la factoría is indeed an important pheonomenon among Cuban women.

Income

Although the median family income of Cubans occupies an intermediate position between the median family income of the other three Hispanics groups and the same figure for all families in the United States, it is closer to the latter. This generalization holds true with other measures of income. Whether one is looking at the lower end of the income range (poverty level) or at the upper levels (family income above $50,000) the conclusion is the same: Cubans occupy an intermediate position, with a greater gap between them and other Hispanics than the gap between Cubans and the total U.S. population.

That generalization does not hold when we look at individual income by sex. While males occupy the intermediate position that was observed

for family income, there is a difference: their income is closer to the income levels of the Hispanic population than it is to the levels of the total U.S. population. Cuban women, on the other hand, while exhibiting income levels that are predictably much lower than their male counterparts, nevertheless earn more than any of the other female populations, including U.S. women. Further evidence of the economic importance of Cuban women is provided by the fact that the median income of families headed by Cuban women, with no husband present and with children, is superior to the median income of all such families in the U.S.

Conclusion

It is clear that the Cuban population of the United States is fairly unique in many of its socio-demographic characteristics. It is unusual, for example, to find a population composed primarily of immigrants with a disproportionately large number of women and elderly persons. Comparatively high socio-economic levels, such as those exhibited by the Cuban population, are also not typical of immigrant populations. But then there has not been much that has been typical of the forces that have prompted migration from Cuba since 1959. The first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere was, after all, without precedent, and it was to be expected that it would generate an emigrant flow with fairly unique features.

The census results that were analyzed and partially summarized here provide us with a data set that is unprecedented in its detail and comprehensiveness. They reaffirm some things we already knew from other sources and they provide us with new insights into certain phenomena. Perhaps the areas that, juding from this overview, should be the principal focus of future investigations are the realms of family

structure and economic adjustment, especially the interplay of the two. Some of the evidence presented here indicates that the Cuban "success story" must be examined in the context of what appears to be strong economic cooperation within the family. In this paper we barely scratched the surface on that issue. More data bearing on that subject can still be mined from the 1980 Census.

Another area of further research that is underscored by these data concerns the past, present, and future consequences of the age and sex composition. What have been the results of the abnormally low sex ratios that for the past decade have existed among Cubans in the prime marriage ages? Has it resulted in a high incidence of exogamy? Of even more importance, what can we predict about the future of the Cuban community as it constinues to age? A high proportion of persons over 40, combined with low fertility, points to a rapid aging of the population, a process that could severely tax the community's resources for dealing with the dependent elderly. This may be a special problem if the younger, and more acculturated Cubans prove to be reluctant to establish the type of three-generation households in which they themselves grew up.

Another fruitful avenue of analysis lies in comparing the results of the census for each of the major Cuban communities in the United States. It would test, for the first time in a comprehensive manner, certain assumptions we have always held about the differences in the socioeconomic characteristics of, for example, Cubans living in the South Florida, Greater New York, and those scattered throughout the U.S. One problem with such an analysis, however, is that the full range of tabulations on the Cuban population that are available at the national level are not available for smaller geographic units.

Table 1. Selected demographic characteristics of the Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, other Spanish, and total U.S. populations, 1980.

Characteristics	Cuban	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Other Spanish	Total U.S.
Percent urban	97.8	87.6	97.0	89.6	73.7
Median age	37.7	21.9	22.3	25.5	30.0
Percent under 15 years of age	16.1	34.5	33.7	28.0	22.6
Percent 65 years of age and over	12.1	4.2	4.9	5.7	11.3
Sex ratio[a]	90.8	103.4	95.2	93.3	94.5
Number of children ever born to every 1,000 women 35-44	2,033	3,646	3,202	2,640	2,639[b]

[a]Number of males per one hundred females.

[b]The figure for the total white metropolitan population of the United States was 2,465.

Table 2. Selected family-related characteristics of the Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, other Spanish, and total U.S. populations, 1980.

Characteristics	Cuban	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Other Spanish	Total U.S.
Percent of all females 15 years of age and over divorced	9.3	6.5	9.0	8.3	7.3
Percent of all families with own children under 6 years of age	17.0	39.7	37.4	31.4	22.2
Percent of all persons under 18 living with two parents	78.1	74.8	50.9	72.0	76.7
Percent of all persons 65 and over who are "other relatives" of the head of the household[a]	30.7	16.7	20.2	20.6	8.9
Percent of all persons 65 and over who live in group quarters, including inmates of institutions	1.3	3.5	2.8	2.6	5.9

[a]"Other relatives" aside from spouse and child of head of household.

Table 3. Selected educational characteristics of the Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, other Spanish, and total U.S. populations, 1980.

Characteristics	Cuban	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Other Spanish	Total U.S.
For persons 25 years of age and older:					
Median years of school completed	12.2	9.6	10.5	12.3	12.5
Percent with 8 years or less of school completed	35.3	46.6	38.5	27.8	18.2
Percent high school graduates	55.3	37.6	40.1	57.4	66.5
Percent with 4 or more years of college	16.2	4.9	5.6	12.4	16.2
Percent of all persons 3 and 4 years of age enrolled in school	42.4	24.0	24.9	32.2	32.8

Table 4. Selected economic characteristics of the Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, other Spanish, and total U.S. populations, 1980.

Characteristics	Cuban	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Other Spanish	Total U.S.
Percent of all persons 16 years of age and over in the labor force	66.0	64.6	54.9	64.6	62.0
Percent of all females 16 years of age and over in the labor force	55.4	49.0	40.1	53.4	49.9
Percent in the labor force of all married women 16 years of age and over wit husband present and own children under 6 years of age	50.5	42.5	38.9	45.7	43.9
Percent of all families with 3 or more workers	18.6	15.1	7.9	13.5	12.5
Median family income	$18,245	$14,765	$10,734	$16,230	$19,917
Percent of all families below the poverty level	11.7	20.6	34.9	16.7	9.6
Percent of all families with annual incomes exceeding $50,000	5.2	1.8	1.0	3.6	5.6

DATA SOURCES

All of the data analyzed and presented in this paper were derived from the following sources:

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983. Tables 39, 48 and 70.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983. Tables 141, and 166-171.

NOTES

1. Rafael J. Prohías and Lourdes Casal, The Cuban Minority in the U.S.: Preliminary Report on Need Identification and Program Evaluation (Boca Ration, Florida: Florida Atlantic University, 1973), p. 17.
2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States (Series P-20), passim.
3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980 (Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 5.
4. Ibid., p. 4.
5. The "origin or descent" question is, of course, a fairly inclusive item. Based essentially on the respondent's ethnic identification, it can be expected to identify not only Cuban-born persons, but also U.S.-born persons who regard themselves as being of Cuban origin. In comparison with the 803,226 persons who thus identified themselves in 1980, the place of birth item in the sample questionnaire yielded as estimate of 604,814 U.S. residents who were born in Cuba (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983, table 99, p. 68). It should be clarified that the analysis presented in this paper includes only the Cuban-origin population residing in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The Spanish origin item was not asked in Puerto Rico. Similarly, therefore, any reference in this paper to the Puerto Rican population of the United States is understood to refer only to

the Puerto Ricans living in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. It should also be noted that the 1980 Census was officially taken on April 1. It therefore does not include the more than 100,00 Cubans that entered the U.S. through the Mariel sealfit in effect from April to September of that year.

6. Throughout this paper the terms "Cuban," "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," and "other Spanish" are used to refer to the Hispanic sub-populations of the U.S. identified by the "origin" or descent" item, omitting, for the sake of parsimony, the usual suffix "-origin" (as in "Cuban-origin").
7. It is difficult to compare the figures for 1980 with the results of the 1970 census because of the differences between the two censuses in the manner in which the data were gathered and in the quality of the coverage. Nevertheless, we are dealing here with spatial distribution and the analytical techniques involve transforming the raw figures into proportions. The shortcomings of the 1970 data will introduce distortions into the analysis only if there was a distinct geographic bias in the quality of the coverage.
8. Prohías and Casal, p. 110.
9. Sergio Díaz-Briquets and Lisandro Pérez, "Cuba: the Demography of Revolution," Population Bulletin, vol. 36, no. 1 (April 1981), p. 13.
10. Ibid., p. 5.
11. The U.S. Bureau of the Census did not use the term "head of household" in 1980, employing instead the more egalitarian but nondescript term "householder."

12. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Florida (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), table 178, p. 175.

PREFACE

This paper was the keynote address of the August 1984 meeting of the Institute of Cuban Studies, held at Florida International University. Lisandro Perez is an associate professor of sociology at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Mr. Perez wishes to acknowledge the research support provided by a Summer Faculty Research Stipend from the Council on Research of LSU. The paper was partially written at the Department of Sociology/Anthropology of Florida International University.

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